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ORIENTAL NOTES AND STUDIES
PUBLISHED BY
THE ISRAEL ORIENTAL SOCIETY
No. 3

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS
FROM THE TURKISH ARCHIVES

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE JEWS
IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

BY

BERNARD LEWIS

956.9

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JERUSALEM

1952

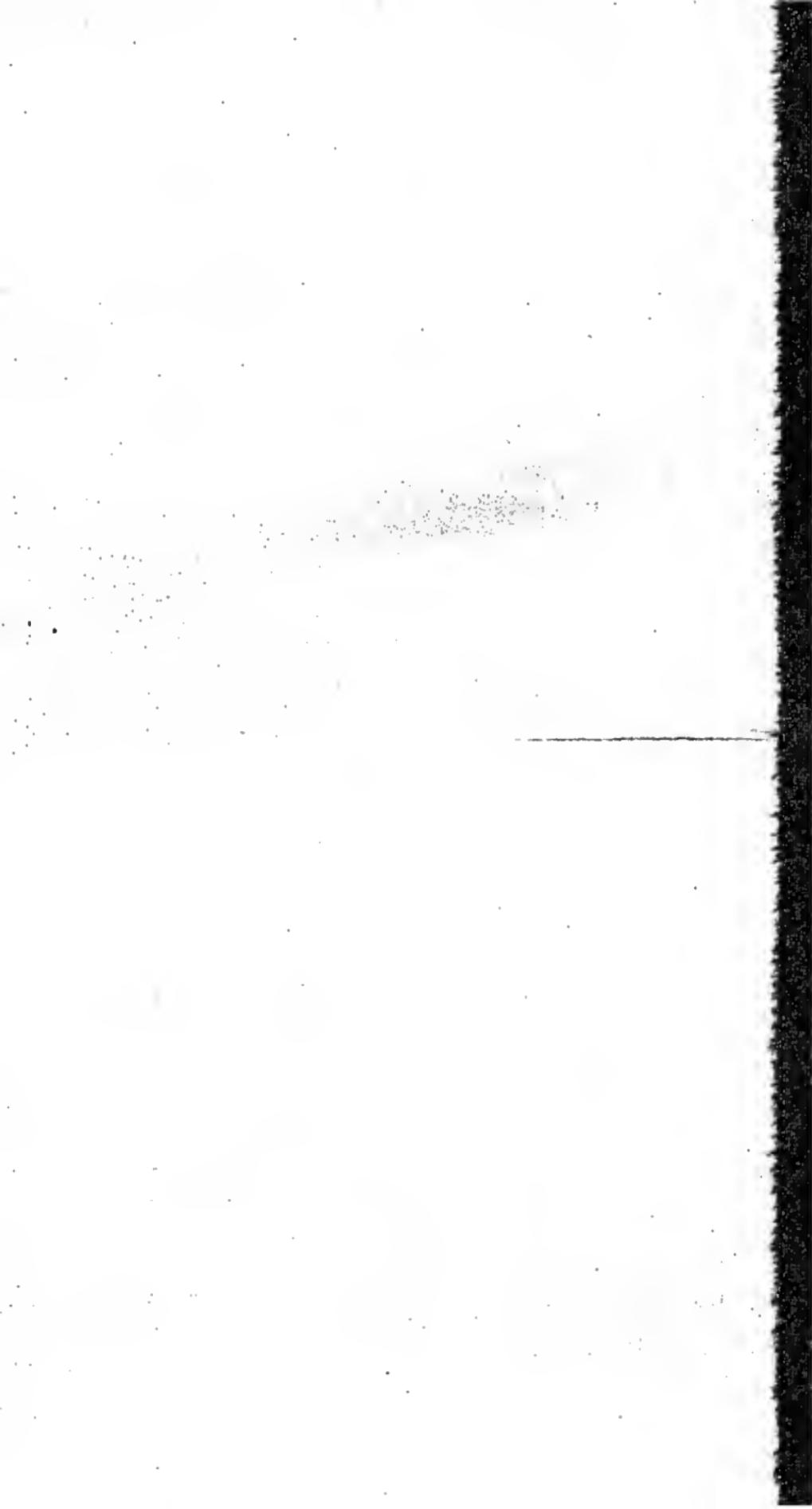
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THE ISRAEL ORIENTAL SOCIETY
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S. D. Goitein, L. A. Mayer, H. J. Polotsky;
U. Ben-Horin, *Secretary.*

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I THE OTTOMAN ARCHIVES AS A SOURCE FOR JEWISH HISTORY¹

The modern study of the Turkish State archives dates from the period immediately following the Young Turk revolution, when an Ottoman Historical Society (*Ta'rīkh-i 'Osmāni Enjūment*) was established with the study and publication of archive documents as one of its objectives. From 1911 onwards Turkish historians began a preliminary classification of a few groups of documents, and published a large number of individual documents in the journal of the Society and elsewhere. The post-war troubles and changes inevitably involved temporary interruptions of this activity, but a new phase began in the thirties, and from 1936 onwards the archives have been rehoused and reorganised, and a promising start made on a proper classification and catalogue. During the last fifteen years a series of studies and monographs of increasing value and importance has been produced by Turkish scholars, who until recently were almost the only ones to use this material.

From the first, the published specimens gave some indication of the possible interest of the Turkish archives for Jewish history. The volumes of the Journal of the Ottoman Historical Society contain a number of articles of Jewish interest, and archive documents relating to such personalities in Ottoman Jewish history as Joseph Nasi, Gracia Mendes and Esther Kira. The numerous works of Ahmed Refik, the most active editor of records of this period, contain many documents bearing on the social and legal status of the Ottoman Jews, as well as documents of political and personal interest. Most of these published documents, together with some unpublished ones made

available to him by Turkish scholars, were translated into French and brought within reach of Western Jewish scholarship by the indefatigable Professor Abraham Galanté.

The series most likely to be of value for Jewish history are :

1) the *Mühimme Defteri* — the Register of Public Affairs : a series of 263 volumes running from 961 to 1300 (=1553 to 1883). This consists of a day-to-day record of official correspondence, containing the texts of outgoing communications of all kinds, in simple chronological order, without any classification whatever. From 1649 certain types of matter formerly included in the Mühimme, for instance 'decrees', 'complaints' etc. were constituted as separate series.

This series is the most important single source for Ottoman history in the 16th and 17th centuries. Many letters of Jewish interest appear : — decrees relating to Jewish employees of the state, conflicts between Jews and foreign subjects, complaints from Jewish residents or traders of oppression and extortion by officials and from others of corruption of officials by Jews, and many other matters relating to Jewish life in the Ottoman Dominions².

2) Series relating specifically to the non-Muslim subjects of the Empire.

a) *Jizye Defterleri* — the finance-registers dealing with the poll-tax paid by non-Muslims. There are 418 volumes, covering the years 958 to 1255 (1551 to 1840), and sub-divided by provinces. These registers contain copies of Jizye documents and receipts, and of lists of Jizye payers sent in from each provincial centre. They thus offer invaluable information on the assessment and collection of the Jizye³.

b) *Piskopos Muqâfa' alari Qalemi* — the records of the department of Christian affairs. There are 36 volumes, running from 1051 to 1253 (1641—1838).

After the Tanzīmāt, the Ottoman reforms of the 19th century, these two series were discontinued, and two others begun:

c) *Ghayr-i Muslim Jema'atleri* — the Finance records of the affairs of the non-Muslim communities. 36 volumes, from 1253 to 1331 (1838—1913).

d) *Kilise Defterleri* — Registers of non-Muslim places of worship, with deeds of foundation and detailed delimitation and description. 7 volumes, from 1285 to 1340 (1868—1922). For the period 1125—1285 (1713—1868) there is an index to the relevant texts in the Mühimme Defteri.

Most of the documents translated by Galanté came from the Mühimme and Kilise Defterleri. Further search in these series will undoubtedly reveal many more, while the still unexplored series of Jizye registers and others dealing specifically with non-Muslim affairs may be expected to throw a great deal of light on the fiscal and administrative status of the Jews.

In addition to the series of bound registers, there are numberless separate documents on different subjects, ranging from elaborate fermanis to odd minutes on scraps of paper. Most of these are still unexplored. They include a few documents in Hebrew script — some letters and accounts in Judaeo-Arabic, and a copy of a letter in what appears to be Yiddish. The original of this last was found in the possession of a Jew caught crossing the Turkish lines in the neighbourhood of Graz. Not wishing to part with this document, the commander in the field sent a letter to Constantinople explaining the circumstances, and enclosing a hand-copy carefully made by a Turkish scribe. The resulting screed would make a pretty puzzle for a Yiddish palaeographer.

Of quite a different order is the so-called *Defter-i Khāqānī*, the great cadastral registers of the Empire. These are of several kinds, the most valuable for Jewish history being the Mufaşşal Defterler, or detailed registers. For

each province⁴ of the Empire there is a series of defters, usually beginning with the acquisition of the province, or, in the old provinces, in the middle of the 15th century. After the introductory matter, the Defter begins with the chief town of the province, which is set forth in detail by quarters, sometimes also by streets, with the name of each householder. Each householder is shown as married or single, and his religion is indicated. Disabled men, who are exempt from taxation, are also designated as such⁵. Then comes the remainder of the province by nahiyes, each nahiye being divided up into towns (if any) and villages, similarly treated. For each unit the defter indicates its legal status (domain, fief, waqf), and gives a list of the taxes levied, with the amount of each. The defters were renewed at frequent intervals, each new one being the work of an independent survey commission and not a mere adaptation of earlier versions.

The value of the mufaṣṣals for Jewish history will be obvious. For the first time they make it possible to work out, in the greatest detail, the numbers and distribution of the Jews in the Ottoman Empire, from official statistics, and to trace demographic changes over a long period of time. In towns with a large Jewish population it is possible to follow the distribution by quarters, the names of which usually indicate the provenance of their inhabitants. The lists of names of householders are less useful than one might have hoped, as only personal names and fathers' names are given, but even so some persons may be identified by those familiar with the Rabbinic sources. The lists of taxes also throw some light on the fiscal status of the Jews.

The following notes, with one exception, are based on these mufaṣṣals. It is hoped that they may show the way to further investigations of the same type⁶.

II

THE JEWS IN PALESTINE IN THE 16th CENTURY

The Ottomans conquered Palestine in 1516. Their first cadastral survey appears to have been made in 1525, and thereafter others were made from time to time throughout the century. They show the country to have been divided into the Liwās (Sanjaqs) of Safed, Nabulus, Jerusalem and Gaza. There are 21 registers in all, some of them dated, the rest datable within a few years by internal evidence¹. Ten of these are mufaṣṣal. The unit of survey was the liwā. Apparently not all the liwās of a vilayet were necessarily surveyed at the same time. We must however take account of the fact that some registers are missing.

Jews appear in the towns of Safed, Jerusalem, Hebron, Gaza and Nablus. There are also Samaritan communities in the two last named. The following table shows the numbers of Jewish households, with those of the rest of the population². The figures to the left of the stroke represent households (*khāne*), those to the right bachelors (*müjerred*).

TABLE A.

	932/1525-6 N 427	ca. 940-5/1533-9 N 1038 Nabulus N 1015 Gaza-Jer.	955/1548-9 N 258 Nabulus N 265 Gaza	961/1553-4 N 289	963-4 / 1555-7 N 300 Safed N 304 Gaza	
Safed	232 728/40	—	—	—	716/56 1193/195	Jews Others
Nabulus	—	71 29/4	36/5 34/1	—	—	Jews Samaritans Others
		1022/43	718/111			
Gaza	95 25	98 15	116/5 18/2	—	81 18	Jews Samaritans Others
	707/41	1601/228	2573/168		2282/78	
Jerusalem	199 712/2	224/19 1309/164	—	325/13 2296/272	—	Jews Others
Hebron	0 133	20 802/227	—	18 970	—	Jews Others

It will be seen that the total figure for the Jewish urban population at any one date is not available. Never the less, by combining the figures for 955/1548-9, 961/1553-4 and 963-4/1555-7, we can arrive, for the mid 16th century, at a total of 1176 households and 74 bachelors.

The town with the largest Jewish population is Safed. Only two muṣaṣṣals for the town of Safed are available. These show considerable development. The first, dated 932/1525-6 shows four Jewish quarters (*mahalle*), viz. :

Musta'riba Jews	بوديان مستربه	130	households.
Frankish Jews	بودي افرنجي	48	"
? Portuguese Jews	بوديان ماله	21	"
Maghrabis	مقاربه	33	"

Bachelors are not indicated, and no total for the whole town is given in the register. The sum of the totals given for the four Jewish quarters is 232 households.

The second muṣaṣṣal, dated 963/1555-6, lists the following quarters.

Portugal	بورتغال	144	households	17	bachelors
Cordova	قرطبة	35	"	7	"
Castile	قسطلية	183	"	10	"
Musta'riba	مستربه	102	"	6	"
<u>Maghrabis</u>	مقاربه	38	"	7	"
Aragon with					
Catalan	عراغون مع قتلان	51	"	3	"
Hungarian	بخار	12	"	—	"
Apulia	بوليه	21	"	1	"
Calabria	قلابريا	24	"	—	"
Seville	سيفيلا	67	"	4	"
Italian	طالبان	29	"	—	"
German	الاما	20	"	1	"

The spaces for the total numbers of households and bachelors at the end of the list of names for each quarter

are left blank, and the above figures are obtained by adding the names listed for each quarter. Names of bachelors are marked with a small *Mim*. This gives a total for the whole of the Jewish quarters of 716 households and 56 bachelors.

The defter however records a total of 1175 Jewish households, with the following note :—

ذکر اولان یهودا طائفه‌سی بوندن اقدم میری به یک یتمش بش خانه‌دن قرق
پاره حالی اوزره یک یتمش بش سکه‌تون خراج ادا ایله کلوب صکره‌هین
تخریزده رضالری ایله یوز خانه داخی زیاده ویرمکی قبول ایدوب حکم همایون
ایراد ایتمکن هرسنه‌ده میری به یک یوز یتمش بش سکه‌تون تسليم ایهمک اوزره
قید دفتر اولاندی

'The said Jewry used to pay *Kharāj*⁵ to the *Mīrī*⁶ for 1075 households, at the rate of 40 paras, according to their status, making 1075 gold pieces. Later, at the time of the registration, they agreed of their own accord to pay for an extra hundred houses. An Imperial order was issued accordingly, and an annual payment of 1175 gold pieces entered in the register'.

It will be seen that, with the exception of the *Musta'riba*, the native Arabic-speaking Jews of the Orient, each quarter is named after the town or country of origin of the community inhabiting it. This tallies with the scraps of information available from the Hebrew sources⁷.

The second largest centre is Jerusalem. The earliest of the three *mufaṣṣals* available, dated 932/1525-6, simply lists 199 names under the heading *Jemā'at-i Yahūdiyān*—Community of Jews. It does not indicate bachelors. In the second register, undated, but apparently of ca. 940-5/1533-9, the Jews appear in three groups, as follows :—

Community of Jews in Jerusalem proper, in the Sharaf quarter.

85 households, 9 bachelors — 94 in all.

Community of Jews in the ? *Maslakh* quarter.

43 households, 4 bachelors — 47 in all.

Community of Jews in the Risha quarter.

96 households, 6 bachelors — 102 in all⁸.

The third register, of 961/1553-4, follows the same order, though the first group is listed simply as Jerusalem, without reference to the Sharaf quarter. The figures are:—

Jerusalem	107	households	3	bachelors
-----------	-----	------------	---	-----------

? <u>Maslakh</u>	79	"	3	"
------------------	----	---	---	---

<u>Risha</u>	138	"	7	"
--------------	-----	---	---	---

For Nabulus the two registers available give different divisions by quarters. The first, undated, but apparently of ca. 940-5/1533-9, gives:—

Dabbūra quarter:

Jews	32	households
------	----	------------

Jabalī quarter:

Musta'riba Jews	34	"
-----------------	----	---

Frankish Jews	5	"
---------------	---	---

Samaritan Community	29	"	4	bachelors.
---------------------	----	---	---	------------

The second register, dated 955/1548-9, divides the Jews by the quarters in which they reside, as follows:

Samaritan community in Yāsmīn quarter

34	households	4	bachelors
----	------------	---	-----------

Jewish comm. in Qalyūn quarter	21	"	1	"
--------------------------------	----	---	---	---

"	"	" Jabalī	12	"	3	"
---	---	----------	----	---	---	---

"	"	" Aqaba	3	"	1	"
---	---	---------	---	---	---	---

It will thus be seen that in Jerusalem and Nabulus, unlike Safed, the Jews also lived in mixed Jewish-Muslim quarters. In Gaza and Hebron the Jews (and in the former also the Samaritans) are listed simply as communities, without subdivisions.

Jewish travel and responsa literature gives scattered information on Jewish communities in a number of villages in Galilee¹⁰. The registers show ten villages as having Jewish inhabitants, all of them in the liwā of Safed, in the nāhiyēs of Safed, Acre and Tiberias. The following table gives the population figures of Jews and others in these places, as recorded at different dates in the registers:

TABLE B.

	932/1525-6 N 427	ca. 940-5/ 1533-9 N 1038	963/1555-6 N 300	ca. 980/1572-3 N 559	
<i>Safed</i>					
*Ain Zaitūn	42 45	—	52/+1 blind 61/13	—	Jews Others
Biryā	19 12/4	—	16/1 36	—	Jews Others
Kafr 'Anān	14 12/4	—	17/1 21/7	18 28	Jews Others
*Almā	0 137/2	—	8 286/70	3 269/81	Jews Others
<i>Acre</i>					
Buqai'a (= Peqī'in)	33 26/6	44/1 56/1	45 91/17	45 84/6	Jews Others
Jūlis	—	0 38/7	9 83/19	9 93/9	Jews Others
Kafr Yāsif	0 29	10 31/1	29 86/16	18 93/8	Jews Others
Kābul	0 18	5 12	15 26/15	15 42	Jews Others
Shafā 'Amr	3 26/1	10 67/1	0 97/9	0 102	Jews Others
<i>Tiberias</i>			+1 blind		
Kafr Kanna	50 104	52 93/2	65/10+1 mad. 377/49	77 313/2	Jews Others
			256/12+3		

Unfortunately no register of the liwā of Safed for the 7th decade of the 16th century is extant, so the development of Tiberias sponsored by Joseph Nasi is not recorded. Registers of 1556 and ca. 1573 show no Jews in Tiberias.

The total Jewish rural population in 963/1555-6 thus appears as 256 households, 12 bachelors and three disabled.

Adding these to the urban figures, and counting the disabled as bachelors we get a grand total of 1432 households and 89 bachelors — probably representing a total Jewish population in the neighbourhood of 10,000 souls.

It may be of interest to compare these figures with the total numbers of households and bachelors in the four liwās for the same period, as given by the registers.

They are:

	Tax-paying households	Tax-paying bachelors	Exempt households	Total
Jerusalem	7,365	516	1,254	9,135
Safed	14,884	1,921	307	17,112
Nabulus	7,599	933	438	8,970
Gaza	<u>12,251</u>	<u>538</u>	<u>1,175</u>	<u>13,964</u>
	42,099	3,908	3,174	49,181

That is, a total population of ca. 300,000 souls.

The chief tax levied on Jews as such was the Jizye, the poll-tax imposed by Islamic law on Dhimmis — protected non-Muslims. In the classical Islamic system the Jizye was due from all male Dhimmis over the age of 14, and was assessed at three rates, for the wealthy, those of medium status, and the poor. The rates were four, two, and one gold pieces respectively. Ottoman practice in 16th century Palestine, as recorded by the registers, differs from this in two important respects. The Jizye was levied, not from individuals — '*alā'r-ru'ūs*, in the official terminology — but from households; and the rate throughout the country is the lowest, of one gold piece. There is no reference at all to the intermediate and higher rates.

The collection of Jizye by households is attested in other provinces of the Ottoman Empire, in Cyprus, Hungary and Bulgaria¹¹, and is not surprising in view of the fact that the whole Ottoman system of taxation and registration is based on the household as a fiscal unit — the

**Avārizkhāne.* The single rate assessment appears to be a survival from Mamluk times. Mamluk rulers not infrequently departed from the classical fiscal system, and the evidence collected by Strauss¹² indicates that during the last century of Mamluk rule the three rates of assessment virtually disappeared, and were replaced by a single Jizye of one gold piece plus a fraction to cover collection costs.

The Jizye belonged to the *Beit-ül-mäl*, and was thus a government preserve. It could not therefore be granted, as were some other revenues, to fiefholders. It was collected by officials or, sometimes, by tax-farmers. Occasionally a part of the Jizye revenues of an area is included in a waqf. Thus, in Jerusalem, a proportion of the Jizye of the Jews forms part of the revenues of the waqf of the Dome of the Rock; in Hebron the Jizye belongs entirely to the waqf of Hebron¹³.

The discrepancy between the number of names in the list of Jewish households in Safed and the total recorded in the register as paying Jizye is surprising. A possible explanation is that the Jewish community of Safed had made an agreement with the Turkish authorities whereby they paid an agreed amount, and themselves arranged the collection of the tax within the community. Many references in the Hebrew sources point to the existence of such an agreement. Although Jewish clerics were not exempted from tax by the Ottoman authorities, they were in fact exempted by an internal Jewish arrangement, whereby the laity paid on their behalf¹⁴. The discrepancy in the registers may be accounted for by some such agreement.

At the rate of one gold piece per household, the Jizye cannot have been an excessive burden. In common with the other inhabitants of the country, the Jews however paid a number of other taxes, and a fair proportion of the revenues listed in the registers under the heading of market-dues, brokerage dues, etc. must have come from them. While reserving a fuller treatment of the taxes of

Palestine for another occasion, I offer brief notes here on a few of direct Jewish interest.

The mufaṣṣal for Safed quoted above, from 963/1555-6, includes in the list of tax-farms of Imperial revenues (*Muqāṭa'a*) of the town of Safed the item — *عمره اليهود — P al-Yahud* — 15,500 aspers. The same item occurs in the list of revenues of 'Ain Zaitūn, where it yields, together with the Imperial gardens, the sum of 5,200 aspers. The first word, which is unpointed, admits of several readings. This item occurs in two earlier registers for Safed. In an *ijmāl* (synoptic register) of ca. 940-5/1533-9 it appears as — *? al-Yahūd* in 11 months — 6,600 aspers, and in the mufaṣṣal of 932/1525-6 as *عمر اليهود* — 1,200 aspers. This term does not occur anywhere else in Palestine. Among other registers that I consulted, I found it in two of Damascus, as follows :

No. 401. Undated, Suleiman I نَبِيْرِهِ اليهود

No. 423. " " نَبِيْرِهِ اليهود

The pointing in both is problematic. A third and last reference comes from the record of Ba'albek in No. 423. This time it is not connected with Jews, but appears as *عمره قصابان — ?* of the butchers.

The most probable pointing of the word is *Nahīra*, and the meaning, as the entry from Ba'albek indicates, has something to do with the slaughtering of animals. This is confirmed by two inscriptions of Tripoli, both of the reign of Qāit Bāy. The first, undated, of Aynāl al-Ashqar, records the abolition of *ma 'alā'n-nahīra*. The second, dated 889/1484, of Qāit Bāy himself, abolished the *maks nahīrat al-baqar wa'l-jamūs*. Sobernheim translates the first as "la taxe prélevée sur l'abattoir", the second as "la taxe sur l'abatage des boeufs et des buffles"¹⁵. At an earlier date, the entry "*Nahīra* of Jews and Christians" in Ibn Shaddād's list of the revenues of Aleppo would thus be a tax on Jewish and Christian slaughtering¹⁶. The word does not

occur in the Arabic dictionaries, and may be of Aramaic origin¹⁷. The form suggests that its meaning relates to slaughtering rather than slaughterhouses¹⁸.

The Hebrew sources reveal a great development of the cloth and dyeing industries among the Jews in Safed towards the middle of the 16th century¹⁹. This is reflected in the registers. The list of revenues in the mufaṣṣal of 932/1525-6 includes an item of 300 aspers a year "from the dye-house in the town of Safed". In the list of Imperial khāṣṣ in the ijmāl of ca. 940-5/1533-9 this has risen to 1000 aspers a year, "from the dye-house, together with the dye-house of choqa". By 963/1555-6 there is a further and more considerable increase. The mufaṣṣal of that year includes the revenues of the cloth industry in the list of tax-farms of Imperial revenues, as follows : —

مُصْحُول مقاطعه = بُويْخانه = چوقه
مع بُويْخانه = اقشہ بر موجب سجل
باب
٤
۲۲۳۶

بُويْخانه = اقشہ	بُويْخانه = چوقه
فی سنه	فی سنه
۱۲۳۶	۱۰۰۰

"Revenues of the tax-farm of the dye-house of choqa with the dye-house of cloths (*qumash*), according to the contract.

4 doors (=4 dye-houses)
2236

Dye-house of <u>choqa</u> per year 1000	Dye-house of cloths per year 1236"
---	--

محصول مقاطعه شتمغا چوقمهاد صندی

فی سنه ١٢٠٠

امر شریف ابله هر پاستاو قرزیه دن بزر پاره واپنلو چوچه نک هر پاستاو ندن
اکثر پاره رسم آنما التم ارمان او لنوب دفتر جدیده داخی وجه مشروع
او زره قید او لندی

"Revenue of the tax-farm of the *Tamghā* (stamp-duty)
for the choqas of Safed

per year 12,000

It has been decreed by noble command that a stamp-duty be collected, at the rate of one para from each *pastav* of *qarziye* and two paras from each *pastav* of broad choqa; this has also been duly entered into the 'new register'".

Some words require explanation. Choqa is a common Turkish word, denoting a special type of cloth as distinct from *qumāsh*, cloth in general. It appears to mean broad-cloth²⁰. *Pastav* is a common measure of cloth in 16th and 17th century Turkish documents. It may come from the Hungarian *posztó* (cloth), or perhaps from the Italian *posto* (cf. German *Posten*)²¹. *Tamghā* is a stamp and hence by extension a tax in return for which a stamp is given²². *Qarzlye* is not a Turkish word, and is obviously identical with קְרִיסְטָיָן, which occurs frequently in the Hebrew sources. Both come from *carisea* — a kind of cloth manufactured in Europe and also in Safed and Salonica²³.

In addition to the dye-houses of Safed itself, dye-houses and shops are recorded in 'Ain Zaitūn and Kafr Kanna, as follows:

	932/1525-6
Tax on the dye-house	800
	963/1555-6
Revenue of the dye-house	600
Revenue of the dye-house for <u>choqa</u>	800
Revenue of 17 cloth shops	680
Kafr Kanna	ca. 940-5/1533-9
Revenue of the dye-shops	400

963/1555-6 and ca. 980/1572-3
Tax on the dye-house 480
Revenue from 8 cloth shops 240

Dye-houses also appear in the registers for Nabulus and Gaza, as follows:

Nabulus	ca. 940-5/1533-9
Revenue of the dye-house 200	ca. 940-5/1533-9
Revenue of the dye-house 240	

In the first this revenue is classed as *muqāṭa'a*, in the second as Imperial *khāṣṣ*.

Gaza	ca. 940-5/1533-9 and 955/1548-9
Revenue of the dye-house 2000	

In the first this revenue is part of the Imperial *khāṣṣ*; in the second it belongs to the waqf of the Bimāristān of the city. The registers of 932/1525-6 and of 964/1556-7 contain no mention of the dye-house.

While there is nothing in the registers to connect these dye-houses with Jews, it is not unlikely that in these two cities, as elsewhere, Jews were concerned with this industry²⁴. If we assume — what is by no means certain — that the omission of any reference to the dye-house from the Gaza registers of 932/1525-6 and 964/1556-7 means that it was not functioning, then it is possible that this short-lived but apparently considerable industry was established in Gaza by newly arrived Jewish immigrants, and that its appearance and disappearance are related to the sudden rise and fall of the Jewish population of Gaza in the middle of the 16th century. All this, however, must be regarded as conjectural.

The Jewish sources tell us that the village Jews of Galilee cultivated as their chief crops wheat, barley, vegetables, and cotton, as well as olives, vines, and fruit trees²⁵. The registers in general confirm these statements, and give some additional detail. Most of the villages of Galilee were assessed for taxation by the system known as *Qasm*²⁶ —

that is to say, the taxes on the main crops were assessed as a proportion of the yield, of 1/3, 1/4, or 1/5 according to the kind of crop and the quality of the ground. In six of the villages with Jewish inhabitants a qasm of 1/4 was imposed, and the lists of taxes given at the end of the record of each village begin with a statement of the revenues collected in this way. A full exploitation of this material would have to be based on the whole of the registers for the whole province. Meanwhile the following notes are offered as a preliminary contribution to the economic history of the Jewish villagers of Galilee.

The main qasm crops for Galilee were wheat, barley, sesame, pulses, and cotton. Of these, wheat and barley appear in all six villages with which we are concerned, cotton only in Kafr Yāsīf and Kābūl, sesame, and pulses in none. The portion of the tax-collector is stated in ghirāras of wheat and barley and qintārs of cotton, and its value in money is given. In Kafr Kanna olives also appear as a qasm crop.

The prices given are probably conventional rates, fixed for accountancy purposes, but their fluctuations during the century no doubt reflect changes in market prices²⁷. The prices given for the liwā of Safed in the four muṣṭaṣṣal registers are: —

	932/1525-6 M 427	ca. 940-5/1533-4 M 1038	963/1555-6 M 300	ca. 980/1572-3 M 550
Wheat (aspers per <u>ghirāra</u>)	100	130	130	140
Barley (" " ")	70	70	70	80
Cotton (" " <u>qintār</u>)	100	200	200	230

Data on the actual value of the ghirāra and the qintār is varied and contradictory²⁸, but an approximate valuation of what they were in the province of Damascus in the 16th century can be reached as follows:

Qintār. The qintār is fixed for most purposes at 100 *raṭls*, and varies accordingly for time, place and commo-

dity with the Syrian *rāṣl*. Most of the Arabic evidence agrees that the Syrian *qintār* varied in the neighbourhood of four Egyptian *qintārs*, that is, about 180 kg. Confirmation of this is found in a note of the English traveller John Sanderson, who travelled in the Levant between 1584 and 1602. "The *qintall* of Tripolie", he says, "makes of ouer weight great 3 c[wt]. 2 qrs. 08 li."²⁹ — that is, 400 English pounds, or approximately 182 kg. The Elizabethan pound is believed to have weighed 7,002 grains, as against the modern standard English pound of 7,000 grains or 0.45359 kg.

Ghirāra. Qalqashandī and other sources of the Mamluk period agree that the *ghirāra* of Damascus was equal to approximately 2½ mekkūks of Tripoli³⁰. According to the *qānūnnāme* of Tripoli of 979/1571, the mekkük of Tripoli was equivalent to 10 kailas of Istanbul, making the *ghirāra* about 25 kailas³¹. Arabic sources provide conflicting data on the value of the *ghirāra*, and usually give its equivalent in weight, which of course varies with the cereal measured. The *ghirāra* of Damascus in the Mamluk period seems to have weighed a little over 200 kg., presumably of wheat³². If we accept Vazquez Queipo's estimate of the weight of Syrian wheat as 80 kg. the hectolitre³³, this would make the *ghirāra* a little more than 250 litres.

The following tables show the main agricultural revenues from the six villages, as given in the *mufaṣṣal* register of 963/1555-6 (no. 300).

1) Qasm crops.

	Wheat	Barley	Cotton	Olives
'Ain Zaitūn	20 gh.	10 gh.	—	—
	2600	700		
Biryā	12 gh.	6 gh.	—	—
	1560	420		
Jūlis	15 gh.	10 gh.	—	—
	1950	700		

Kafr Yāsif	50 gh.	30 gh.	30 qnt.	—
	6,500	2,100	6,000	
Kābul	30 gh.	10 gh.	9 qnt.	—
	3,900	700	1,800	
Kafr Kanna	134 gh.	50 gh.	—	40 qnt.
	17,420	3,500		16,000

The first line of each entry gives the quantity of produce claimed by the tax-collector, the second its value in aspers for accounting purposes. In all but the first two the heading 'barley' reads شعير وغيره — barley and similar crops.

The other taxes are assessed at fixed rates, as laid down in the qānūnnāme or code of regulations of the province²⁴.

2) Other Taxes.

	Goats and hives	Presses.	Vines, fruit-trees, olives etc.	
'Ain Zaitūn	350	3 presses	vines and other trees	
		36	2,070	
Biryā	20	1 press	vines and olives	
		12	1,300	
Jūlis	800	3 presses	olives and other trees. <i>Sayfī</i>	
		36	4,000	1,000
Kafr Yāsif	1,400	4 presses	vines etc. <i>Resm-i Besātin</i>	
		48	4,900	500
Kābul	200	1 press	trees	
		12	188	
Kafr Kanna	1,000	1 press	various trees. <i>Sayfī Resm-i</i> etc. <i>Besātin</i>	
		not in use	1,300	5,500
				500

The proceeds from the taxes on goats and hives (*Resm-i Ma'z* and *Resm-i Nahūl*) are invariably lumped together, so that it is not possible to say what holdings

they represent. The rates given in the qānūnnāme are :

goats	1 asper per 2 goats.
hives	1 asper per hive ³⁵ .

The presses — *Ma'sara* — are specified in the qānūnnāme as *Dibs Ma'sarasi* — presses for making *dibs*, i. e. molasses or syrup from fruit. The qānūnnāme fixes the tax on each press at six paras, equal at that date to 12 aspers³⁶. The third column of the above table includes various taxes on vines, trees, olives etc. As their presentation and grouping varies in the registers, I have given the heading as well as the figure for each village. Two main taxes are concerned. The vineyard tax — *Resm-i Bāgh* — is fixed in the qānūnnāme at 10 aspers per 100 shoots (*chubuq*). The garden-tax—*Resm-i Baghche* or *Resm-i Besātin* — covers fruit, olives etc. Various rates are laid down in the qānūnnāme, as follows³⁷:

Olives (<i>Islāmī</i>)	1 asper per 2 trees.
" (<i>Kāfirī</i>) ³⁸	1 half of the crop (qasm).
Nuts a) full-grown trees	2 aspers per tree.
b) young trees	1 asper per tree.
Dates and mulberries	2 aspers per tree.
Various fruits	2 aspers per five trees.

Sayfi is a term common in the registers and still used in Syria for certain crops gathered in summer³⁹.

In addition to the foregoing, taxes on individual orchards (*Bustān*) appear in 'Ain Zaitūn and Kafr Kanna, while the latter also has a tax of 150 aspers on three gardens (*hākūra*).

The dye-houses and cloth-shops of 'Ain Zaitūn and Kafr Kanna have already been mentioned. The former also had a tannery (*dabbāghkhāne*) paying 600 aspers a year. The latter, though classed as a village, seems in effect to have been a sort of market-town. Its revenues include

taxes on a market for asses and other saddle-beasts and dues for *Ihtisāb*, *Kayyāliye*, and *Qabbān*⁴⁰.

The three villages of Kafr 'Anān, 'Almā, and Buqai'a had their taxes farmed (*maqṭū'*), and no record of qasm therefore appears. The money taxes include the following:

	Goats and hives	Presses	Mills	Silk- winders
Kafr 'Anān	50 aspers	1 press 12 aspers	—	—
'Almā	160 "	5 presses 60 aspers	3 mills 180 aspers	—
Buqai'a	1,250 "	3 presses 36 aspers	2 mills 60 aspers	380 aspers

The tax on mills is not mentioned in the qānūnnāme of Safed, but references in other qānūnnāmes and in the registers themselves show that it was assessed by the number of stones per mill — in Syria and Palestine at the rate of 60 aspers for a stone and 30 for a half stone⁴¹. The tax on silk-winders — *dōlāb al-ḥarīr* — is not mentioned in any of the Syrian qānūnnāmes I have seen, but appears in the registers in many places in Syria and Palestine. It is mentioned in a Mamluk inscription in Tripoli⁴².

In addition to these taxes, all the villages concerned returned an annual sum under the heading of "*Resm-i 'Arūs* and *Bād-i Hava*". The first is the bride-tax, the second appears to be a general term covering various occasional revenues from fines, land registration charges, etc. The amounts are: — 'Ain Zaitūn 800, Biryā 600, Kafr 'Anān 50, 'Almā 1,000, Buqai'a 1,500, Jūlis 800, Kafr Yāsīf 700, Kābul 700, Kafr Kanna 2,000.

Certain taxes are reserved to the Imperial *khiāṣṣ* in all villages, though they may be farmed out as part of a muqāja'a. Otherwise the revenues belong to one of four classes :

KS — Khāṣṣ-i Shāhī — Imperial khāṣṣ, collected either directly or through tax-farms (muqāṭa')

KM — Khāṣṣ-i Mīriliwā — Appanage of the Mīriliwā
 (=Sanjaq Bey)

T — Tīmār

W — Waqt

The following table shows the form of tenure in the 10 villages as given in the registers.

	932/1525-6	ca. 940-5/1533-9	969/1555-6	ca. 980/1572-3
'Ain Zaitūn	KS	—	KS	—
Biryā	KS	—	KS	—
Kafr 'Anān	KS & W	—	T	KM
'Almā	W	—	KM	KM
Buqā'i'a	KS	KS	KS	KS
Jūlis	—	KS	KS	KS
Kafr Yāsīf	W	W	KS	KM
Kābul	KS	T	T	KM
Shafā 'Amr	W	W	T	T
Kafr Kanna	KS	KS	KS	KS

It would be unwise at this point to attempt to draw conclusions from data relating to a few scattered villages having no more in common than the possession of Jewish minorities. The examples given may however serve to show how much we can learn from the registers on the development of population, agriculture, tenure, taxation, and other aspects of the economic history of Palestine.

Finally a word may be said about the tolls, about which almost all the travellers have something to say. These appear in the form *Bāj-i Aghfār* — Protection-duty⁴³ — and are collected at bridges and other points in many places, especially in the liwā of Safed, on the road from Damascus to Jerusalem, and also on the roads from

the ports to Jerusalem. These are usually at the rate of eight aspers for Christians and six for Jews. In registers of ca. 940-5/1533-9 and of 963/1555-6 a toll on Jews visiting Tiberias in the spring is recorded. It was at the rate of two paras per Jew, and yielded a revenue of 1,000 aspers in the year — i. e. 250 visitors⁴⁴.

All revenues are stated in the registers in aqche (i. e. aspers — the לכני of the Hebrew sources). The rate of the gold piece (*altun* or *filori* = ח'רץ) fluctuated during the century, and was fixed for each period and province in the qānūnnāme. The first registers for Palestine, those of 932/1525-6, give the rate as 60 aspers to the gold piece. By 940-5/1533-9 the asper has fallen to 80 to the gold piece, and remains at this rate until the reign of Selim II. The para, another Ottoman silver coin of varying value, appears in these registers to equal two aspers.⁴⁵

III

THE JEWS IN THE TOWNS OF SYRIA IN THE 16th CENTURY

The Syrian registers for the 16th century show Jews in the following towns: Aleppo, Hama, Homs, Tripoli, Damascus, Baalbek, Beirut, Saida. The registers for the various cities are unfortunately of different dates, and four of them can only be dated approximately, by the reigns of the Sultans for whom they were made. The following table gives the picture as it emerges from the registers.

TABLE C

For Damascus we have three detailed descriptions, including Samaritans and Karaites as well as native, Sicilian and Frankish (i. e. European) Jews. They show the following distribution by quarters:—

955/1548-9	Jewish quarter	101
	Sicilians	28
	Musta'riba	255
	Karaites in Bāb Sharqī quarter	36
	Samaritans in Bait al-Libya quarter	60
977/1569-70	Samaritans in Bait al-Libya quarter	46/5
	Jews in 'Annāba quarter	27/3
	Frankish Jews	97/27
	Jews of ?	22
	Musta'riba of Jawbar	268/19
	Karaites	40
	Sicilians	46/2
Undated-reign of Suleimān I	Bait al-Libya quarter	
	Samaritans	51/9
	Jews	13
	Jewish quarter	
	Frankish Jews	201/3
	Musta'riba	214
	'Annāba quarter	
	Jews	40 ¹

The first register for Aleppo, dated 924/1518, divides the Jews into three groups:—

Jewish quarter	285
Jews in — quarter (the name is left blank)	73
Frankish Jews	15

IV

SALONICA

For Salonica two detailed statements have so far come to light. Both of them classify the Jews not by quarters but by communities (*Jemā'at*). They are:

1) No. 403. Undated, reign of Suleimān I.

Spain	اسپانیه	83	households
Sicilian	چهلیان	148	"
<u>Maghrabi</u>	مغربی	25	"
Lisbon	لیزبونه	213	"
Italian	مالیات	72	"
? Otranto	اوترانتو	51	"
‘Eş Ḥayyīm	ایزهایم	117	"
Catalan	قفلان	216	"
Aragon	اراغون	315	"
Old Sicilian	چهلیان کہنہ	136	"
Old Catalan	کہنہ قفلان	219	"
<u>Shālōm</u>	شلوم	118	"
<u>Midrash</u>	میدراش	124	"
Apulia	پولیہ	173	"
Provençal	پرون چال	47	"
Castilian	فاستیلان	128	"
Evora-Portugal	اورا پورتغال	96	"
German	الامان	97	"
Calabrian <u>Gērūsh</u>	کروش قلاورش	220	"
Saragossa-Aragon	صاراغوسہ اراغون	42	"
Corfu	قورغوس	4	"

2) No. 723. 1022/1613

Spain	اسپانیه	94	households	70	bachelors
Sicilian	چهلیان	125	"	240	"

<u>Maghrabī</u>	مغربي	33	households	21	bachelors
<u>Lisbon</u>	لیزبوا	231	"	49	"
<u>Italian</u>	طالیان	49	"	69	"
?	اربوبه؟	144	"	—	"
? <u>Otranto</u>	اوراسو؟	49	"	44	"
‘ <u>Es Hayyim</u>	ازهایم	140	"	124	"
<u>Old Catalan</u>	کنه قاتلان	70	"	69	"
<u>Aragon</u>	اراغون	231	"	153	"
<u>Old Sicilian</u>	چچیلان کنه	91	"	92	"
Catalan, also called <u>Gērush</u>	قتلان نام دیگر کروش	91	"	87	"
<u>Shālōm</u>	شلوم	105	"	178	"
<u>Midrash</u>	مدرساش	92	"	153	"
<u>Apulia</u>	پولیه	159	"	153	"
<u>Provençal</u>	پرون جال	43	"	21	"
<u>Castilian Gērush</u>	کروش قاستیان	173	"	89	"
<u>Evora-Portugal</u>	اورا پورتوقال	231	"	149	"
<u>German</u>	الامان	239	"	—	"
<u>Calabrian Gērush</u>	کروش قلاورش	126	"	81	"
Quarter of <u>Kāna</u> , depen- dent on the the said com- munity of Calabrian <u>Gērush</u>	محله کانه تابع جماعت کروش قلاورش المبور	92	"	48	"
Quarter of ? <u>Motalto</u> , de- pendent on the said com- munity of Calabrian <u>Gērush</u>	محله مو تالتو تابع جماعت کروش قلاورش المبور	40	"	16	"
<u>Estruc</u>	استروق	32	"	—	"

Old Calabrian	كلاورش	182	households	118	bachelors
New Portugal	جديد پورتقال	59	"	206	"
Corfu	كورفو	12	"	—	"

The first register does not indicate bachelors, the second shows a surprisingly high proportion of them. With the exception of 'Eṣ Ḥayyim, Midrash and Shālōm, which were probably of Byzantine Jews, all the communities are named after their countries of origin¹. The splitting of several communities into separate groups of old and new immigrants is known from the Hebrew sources, and is a familiar feature of Jewish communal life.

The following references to Jews occur in the tax-lists given at the end of the descriptions of the towns:-

1) No. 403

مخصوص رسم ہو دیاں

Revenue of the Jews' tax

4,333 aspers

مخصوص فلوری راو یهودیان
فی سننہ کاملہ سکھ حسنہ
۶۰۰

Revenue of the *filori*² of
*Rāy-i Yahūdiyān*³

In a full year, in good money⁴

600 33,000 aspers

2) No. 723

محضول فلوری را و یهودیان مزبور ... یک فلوری ویرورل
بر وجه عادت قدیم
۶۰۰۰ ف سنه کامله

Revenue of the filori of the above mentioned Rāv-i Yahūdiyān: they pay (one word unreadable) 1,000 filori in accordance with ancient custom.

In a full year

6,000 aspers⁵.

عصول رسم عروس یهودیان و کفره دنایر ایشان
ف سنه ۳۸۳۳

Revenue of the bride-tax for Jews and infidels⁶.
Their payments

in a full year

38,333 aspers.

عن عصول یهودیان که هر سنه سلطانیک ناظری اولان کمته به
الی یک نقد اچھے تسلیم ایلیوب مقابله سنه خرابلق تکالیفندن
معاف اولالر دیو اللرنده نامه حکم شریفلری اوغلین د خاقالیه
تید اولندی
ف سنه ٥٠٠٠

Of the revenues of the Jews — on the ground of their holding Imperial rescripts to the effect that, in return for their paying 50,000 aspers a year in cash to the person who is *Nāzir* of Salonica, they shall be exempt from the dues of *Kharāj* — entered in the D[after-i] *Khāqānī*.

In a year

50,000 aspers.

V

JEWISH DEPORTATIONS FROM SAFED IN 1576-7

The preceding notes have all been based on the cadastral registers. As examples of a different class of material, the three following documents are given from the

Mühimme Defterleri. The style of script used in these registers and the highly formalised technical language employed in the orders present special problems in deciphering and translation, and the following texts and translations must be regarded as tentative.

In 1571 the Ottomans had conquered the island of Cyprus from the Venetians. The volumes of the Mühimme of the following years contain a number of orders to provincial authorities, chiefly in the coastal provinces adjoining the island, to collect and send colonists to Cyprus. These movements are of various kinds. Some are penal deportations, most are transfers of population for colonising purposes, of a kind familiar in the Ottoman Empire. The three documents given below¹ relate to a compulsory movement of Jews from Safed to Cyprus in 1576-7, presumably in order to restore the commercial prosperity of the island after the departure of the Venetians². Similar transfers of Jewish merchants occur elsewhere in the Empire in this period, and find some echoes in the Hebrew sources of the time³.

The first document, dated 15 Rajab 984 (8.10.1576), is addressed to the Sanjaq-Bey and to the Qādī of Safed. The Sultan orders them to collect and despatch one thousand rich Jews from Safed and its dependent districts, and send them, with all their families and property, to Famagusta in Cyprus. The Jews are to be conscribed, and the officials are warned not to indulge in corrupt practices. The Jews must be rich — as more likely to conduce to the prosperity of the island — and the officials must not use this order as an occasion for personal profit, by selling exemption to the rich and sending poor Jews, who cannot afford bribes, in their stead.

No further reference to this project occurs in the registers until 7 Jum. II 985 (22.8.1577). On this date we have two orders, the first addressed to the Qādīs of Manṣūra and Quneiṭra, and marked as having been handed to Suleimān

Cha'ush, the second addressed to the Beylerbey of Cyprus. The scribe had at first addressed the first order to Jerusalem, and then scratched it out and written Manṣūra above it. This order was presumably a circular, to the various authorities with whom Suleimān Cha'ush would have to deal in the discharge of the duty assigned to him; it was probably sent to other places besides the two named. Manṣūra and Quneīṭra are both on the road to Safed from Syria.

The two orders show that Suleimān Cha'ush was sent from Constantinople to superintend the deportation and accompany the Jews to Cyprus, where he was to obtain a receipt from the Beylerbey. His appointment gives some indication of the importance attached to the project. At this period, it will be remembered, a Cha'ush was not the humble N.C.O. that he became in late Ottoman times, but a member of the Palace Corps of Pursuivants, and a very exalted personage. Suleimān appears to have been a specialist in this kind of work. In an earlier order, of October 1576, we find him conducting another convoy of colonists to Cyprus, this time from Rhodes⁴.

In 1577 the number of 'rich Jews' required has fallen to 500. Whether these are in addition to the 1,000 mentioned earlier, or whether they represent a reduced form of the same demand, is not certain. In view of the absence of any further reference to the first project, and of the portentous appearance on the scene of a Palace Cha'ush, it seems likelier that the first order came to nothing. This time Famagusta is not mentioned, and it is left to the discretion of the Beylerbey of Cyprus to choose a suitable city for the Jews to settle in. The order repeats the earlier warnings against extortion and malpractice, and insists that the convoy shall indeed consist of rich Jews, and not of those who cannot afford to buy exemption. If any Jews have got wind of the order and sought refuge in neighbouring towns and villages, they are to be brought back, investigated, and, if necessary, deported. At about this

time the Damascene Jewish poet Israel Najāra wrote to the Rabbis of Constantinople complaining of persecutions in Safed, and mentioning that many of the Jews of that city had fled to Damascus⁵. Mañṣūra and Quneitra are on the way from Safed to Damascus, and it is not improbable that the events to which he refers are those described in the documents.

The three documents speak for themselves, and require little comment. I found no evidence of the actual arrival of the deportees in Cyprus, and, in view of the absence of any direct reference to such a deportation in the Jewish sources, it is not unlikely that some way was found of circumventing the order. Sultan Selīm II had died in 1574, and Joseph Nasi was probably no longer able to help. But there were other influential Jews in Constantinople, and we may be sure that their intervention was sought.

I

صمد سنجاغی بکه و صمد قاضیسنے حکم کہ حالا نفس صمددن و نواحی سندن
 یک لئر یہودی دفتر اولنوب داخی قبرسده ماغوسہ قلمعسنے کوندرلہ پن
 امر آیدوب یوردوم کہ واریجاق تأخیر ایتمبوب فرمان شریف مو جنبجہ
 یک نفر مالدار و منعم یہودیلری دفتر ایلوب داخی مال و اسپا بری واہل
 هیا للری ایله یرار ادمیرہ قوشوب قلمہ ڈ مزبورہ یہ کوندرہ سز و دفتر اولنوب
 بازلان یہودیلری صکرہ دن جلب واخذ اولنفلہ تکرار اخراج ایتمبوب دفتر ک
 بر صورتی مہرلیوب سدھ ڈ سعادتھ کوندرہ سز شویلکہ فرمان اولنات
 مقداری یہودیلر یازلوب دفتر اولنین کمسنیہ حایت اولنوب یاخود اخزر لری
 المفلہ اخراج اولنوب بر لربنہ مالدار اولیوب فقیر اولا نلری یازلہ اصلہ عذر کر
 مقبول اولماز خفیہ یوقلنوب کورلہ⁶ کر کر کہ خلاف امر شریف ایش اولدوغی
 مسحیو شریف اولہ منصبکر الناغلہ قو نلیوب اشد عتاب ایله معاتب اولما کوز
 مقرر در آکا کورہ مقید اولوب خلاف امر شریف ایش اولنگدن⁷ حذر ایلیہ سز.

II

سلیمان چاوشہ ویریلدی فی ۷ حج^۸ سنه ۹۸۵

منصوره^۹ وقینطره قاضیلینه حکم که حالا صنده اولان یهودیلردن
قدرتلو و متمول اولنلردن بشیوز خانه یهودی قبرسه سورکون اولق امر ایدوب
بیوردوکم که سلیمان چاوش واردوقده مباشر تین^{۱۰} اولنوب بو بایدہ بالذات
قالقوب قصبه مذکورده ساکن اولان یهودی طائفه سنند قبرسده زندکانی
ایلمکه قادر و متمول یهودیلردن بشیوز خانه سن دفتر ایلیوب دخی اول یرلردن
علاقه لرین قطع اندروب اهل عیاللری ومال واسیابری ایله یوار ادمیره
توشوب قبرسه ارسال ایلیوب انهنکن اندره سز بال تمام واروب تسیم اواندتلرنه
بکلر بکیستندن بمسک الدروب ارسال ایلیه سز واکر بو خصوصدن مقدماء کاه
اولوب دخی اطرافه اولان قصبات وقری به وغیره پرآکنده اویش یهودی وار
ایسه اول اصلری دخی کوردوک اندره سز خصوص، زبور
وجینجه کوندرله سی لازم اولنلری دفتر ایدوب کوندره سز خصوص، زبور
مهدر اهمالدن دیو بہانه ایله اغنبیستندن جلب واخذ اولنوب و فراسن یازوب
کوندرمکدن و کمسنیه حمایت ایدوب اکسوك کوندرمکدن خذر ایدوب اهتماده
قصور ایتمیه سز شویلکه بر کمسنے کلوب اغنبیسته حمایت اولنوب فراسی
یازلری دیو شکایت اوئله عذرگز مقبول اویاز معاتب اویورسز شویله بلاسز.

III

قبرس بکلر بکینه حکم که جزیره مزبوره مهم ایچون صند یهودیلرندن
بشیوز خانه یازلوب کوندرلرک ایچون قدس شریف قاضیسته حکم شریف یازلوب
سلیمان چاوش مباشر تین اولنشدیر ذکر اولنان یهودیلر یازلوب دفتر اولوب
دخی امرم وجینجه جزیره مزبوره یه کوندرلوب بالیه واردوقله نده یانکده اولان
قادر غلردن بر یکی قادر غله کوندرلوب جزیره مرقومیه کچوروب دخی
مناسب اولان تلعده اسکان ایلیه سز و نوجھله تدارک اندکک یازوب بلدره سز.

I

15 Rajab 984/8-10-1576: Mühimme Defteri, Vol. 28, No. 99, p. 40.

Order to the Sanjaq Bey of Safed and to the Qādi of Safed.

At present I have ordered that a thousand Jews be registered from the town of Safed and its districts and sent to the city of Famagusta in Cyprus; I command that as soon as [this order] arrives, without delay and in accordance with my noble ferman, you register one thousand rich and prosperous Jews, and send them, with their property and effects and with their families, under an appropriate escort, to the said city. Once Jews have been inscribed in the register, do not afterwards, by practising extortion, remove them [from it]; and send a sealed copy of the register to my Felicitous Threshold. Thus, in the course of the conscribing and registering of the prescribed number of Jews, if anyone receives protection, or any are removed [from the register] and instead of them others taken, so that in their place not rich but poor Jews are conscribed, your excuses will by no means be acceptable. It will be secretly investigated and dealt with. It is proper that, if it becomes known to us that the matter has been handled in a manner contrary to our noble command, then assuredly it will not end with your deposition, but you will also be most severely punished. Accordingly be diligent, and avoid anything contrary to our noble command.

II

Given to Suleimān Cha'ush on 7 Jum. II 985/22-8-1577: Mühimme Defteri, Vol. 31, No. 411, p. 184.

Order to the Qādis of Manṣūra and Quneīṭra.

At present I have ordered that five hundred Jewish families from the rich and wealthy among the Jews in Safed be transferred to Cyprus; I command that as soon as Suleimān Cha'ush arrives [with this order], he being appointed as commissioner¹¹, you¹² shall in this matter personally go

and register five hundred families from the rich and wealthy members of the Jewish community residing in the said town, to go and live in Cyprus. Having arranged for them to sever all connections with these places, send them, with their families and their property and effects, under appropriate escort, to Cyprus. Install them there, obtain a receipt from the Beylerbey certifying that all have arrived and been delivered, and send it [to us]. If there be any Jews who, having previously become aware of this matter, have scattered themselves in the neighbouring towns and villages and elsewhere, have such people brought [before you], investigate their situation properly, register those who, according to my command, must be sent, and send them. This matter is important. Beware lest, on the pretext of oversight, you subject the rich Jews to extortion and conscribe and send poor ones, and lest, by protecting anyone, you send a short number. Do not fall short in your attention to this task. If anyone should come and complain that the rich have been protected and the poor conscribed, your excuses will not be acceptable and you will be punished. Thus you shall know.

III

7 Jum. II. 985/22-8-1577 : *ibid.*, No. 412, p. 184.

Order to the Beylerbey of Cyprus.

In the interests of the said island my noble command has been written to the Qādī of Jerusalem¹³ to conscribe and send five hundred families from the Jews of Safed, and Suleimān Cha'ush has been appointed as commissioner. As soon as the said Jews, having been conscribed and registered and, in accordance with my command, despatched to the said Island, arrive at the coast, send each time a new galley from those at your disposal, bring them over to the said Island, and settle them in a city which is suitable. Write and report what measures you have taken.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

¹ Some of the material in these notes was first made public in a guest lecture at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem on 19th April 1950 and in a talk broadcast in the Hebrew service of the B.B.C. on 6th March 1951. My thanks are due to Prof. Paul Wittek for reading the manuscript of this booklet and making many helpful suggestions.

² The following may serve as examples:

Vol. II, Nos. 567 and 568, p. 63 (9 Jum. II. 963/20 Apr. 1556). Orders for the promotion of Isaac and Joseph, two Jewish doctors of the Palace, on the report of 'Ali Agha, Kâhya of the Qapijis.

Vol. XXVII, No. 310, p. 132 (3 Ram. 983/6 Dec. 1575). Letter to the Doge of Venice, demanding compensation for two Jewish merchants of Constantinople, Shelomo ben Joseph and Shelomo ben Jacob, who had been cheated by a Venetian skipper called Antonio. They had entrusted a cargo to him for transport to Venice, but he had taken it to Sicily and sold it for his own benefit.

Vol. XXVIII, No. 341, p. 145 (25 Rajab 984 18 Oct. 1576). Order to the Governor of Damascus to investigate charges that officials in Safed have been receiving bribes from Jews; *ibid.*, No. 582, p. 310 (6 Sha'bân 984/29 Oct. 1576). Complaints have been received from Jewish merchants of extortion by customs officers in the neighbourhood of Tarsus. Order to cease these practices.

Vol. XXIX, No. 426, p. 178 (30 Ram. 984/21 Dec. 1576). Complaints of oppression have been received from the Jews of Safed against the Sanjaq-Bey. Order to the Beylerbey of Damascus and the Qâdi of Safed to rectify.

Vol. XXXI, No. 558, p. 253 (1 Rajab 985/14 Sept. 1577). Order to punish corrupt officials in Safed, whose offences include the concealment of a Jew condemned to death.

³ Some facsimiles from the Jizye registers were published in İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Merkez*

ve Bahriye Teşkilâti, Ankara, 1948, Pl. XXXII and XXXIII:

- ⁴ Only provinces under direct rule are included. Egypt, North Africa and most of Iraq are therefore not covered by the survey.
- ⁵ In accordance with the Hanafî Law, disabled Dhimmis were also exempt.
- ⁶ For a fuller description of the Archive material see my article: The Ottoman Archives as a Source for the History of the Arab Lands, *J. R. A. S.*, Oct. 1951, pp. 139-155.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

- ¹ For a full list see my article, loc. cit. A more detailed discussion of conditions in Palestine will be found in my monograph, in preparation, on the towns of Palestine in the 16th century.
- ² The figures are not completely reliable, as the totals given in the registers sometimes differ slightly from the number of names. This is probably due to scribal errors.
- ³ ? [بُرْنَالِي]. If we assume that this name must be one of those listed in the later register, this seems the likeliest.
- ⁴ cf. the Hebrew sources, which usually write פּוֹלִיא or פּוֹלִיָּה for the Apulian communities in Safed, Salonica etc. بولى is the Turkish name for Apulia.
- ⁵ Used as a synonym for Jizye in Ottoman times; cf. B. C. Nedkoff, *Die Gizya (Kopfsteuer) im Osmanischen Reich*, Leipzig, 1942, p. 23.
- ⁶ The *Beit-ül-M. l* (Public Treasury).
- ⁷ A valuable study of economic life in Safed and its surroundings in the 16th and early 17th centuries, based on Hebrew sources, was published in Hebrew by Y. Kena'ni in *Zion*, Jerusalem, VI, 1934, pp. 172-217. S. Schechter, *Safed in the Sixteenth Century* (in *Studies in Judaism*, II, London, 1908), deals mainly with intellectual life, but includes useful material on social and communal history.
- ⁸ Mujîr ad-Dîn (d. 927/1521) mentions both the Sharaf and

Risha quarters, grouping the latter with the Jewish quarter (*Al-Una al-Jalil*, Cairo, 1283, pp. 402-3, French translation in H. Sauvalre, *Histoire de Jérusalem et d'Hébron*, Paris, 1876, pp. 174-5). I have not been able to identify the third quarter named — the letters are MSLH. *Maslakh* is the common word for slaughterhouse in Syria and Palestine.

- ⁹ On the quarters of Nablus in modern times see J. A. Jausseen, *Coutumes Palestiniennes, I, Naplouse*, Paris, 1927, pp. 4-5. Among those listed are Jabaliya, 'Aqaba, Qārlyūn and Yasmina.

¹⁰ See Kena'ñi, pp. 208 ff., where most of the relevant material is collected and examined. Additional material from various sources has since been published by Mr. Ben Zevi in a number of articles in Hebrew journals.

¹¹ See Nedkoff, pp. 26-27.

¹² E. Strauss, *History of the Jews in Egypt and Syria under Mamluk Rule* (in Hebrew), Vol. II, Jerusalem, 1951, pp. 266 ff.

¹³ In 682/1283, the Jizye (*Jawālī*) of Jerusalem, Hebron and other places was consecrated to the construction of a pool in Hebron. Maqrizi, *Sulūk*, Cairo, 1939, I, p. 712.

¹⁴ cf. Kena'ñi, pp. 186 ff.

¹⁵ Sobernheim, C. I. A., *Syrie-Nord*, Cairo, 1909, pp. 73-4 and 80.

¹⁶ J. Sauvaget, *Alep*, I, Paris, 1941, p. 254, where however a different explanation is offered. My thanks are due to Dr. D. S. Rice for drawing my attention to this reference. The transfer of one point in the meaningless بحيرة اللد، included among the revenues of Aleppo by Ibn ash-Shihna, would give *Nahirat adh-Dhimma* — the slaughtering-tax on the dhimmis. See Ibn ash-Shihna, *Ad-Durr al-Muntakhab*, ed. Yūsuf Sarkis, Beirut, 1909, p. 148 = J. Sauvaget, "Les Perles Choisies" d'Ibn ach-Chihna, Beirut, 1933, p. 166. Sauvaget's emendation to بحيرة اقامة would thus become unnecessary.

- ¹⁷ See M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim etc.*, s.v.
- ¹⁸ For taxes on Jewish slaughtering in other parts of the Ottoman Empire see the documents in A. Galanté, *Documents officiels Turcs concernant les Juifs de Turquie*, Istanbul, 1931, pp. 140–147, and *Appendice à l’Ouvrage Documents etc.*, Istanbul, 1941, pp. 31–5. For the originals of some of these, and for other documents on taxes on butchers, see Ahmed Refiq, *Onunju 'Asr-i Hijri'de İstanbul Hayatı*, Istanbul, 1333, pp. 122 ff. Taxes on butchers (*Qaşşab*) appear in other towns in Palestine, but without specific reference to Jews.
- ¹⁹ Kena'nī, pp. 195 ff.
- ²⁰ Thus, choqa is commonly used in Turkish documents for the broadcloth imported from England from the late 16th century onwards.
- ²¹ For examples of its use see Ahmet Refik, *Hicri On Birinci Asırda İstanbul Hayatı*, Istanbul 1931, p. 28; *Hicri On Ikinci Asırda İstanbul Hayatı*, Istanbul, 1930, pp. 13 ff., 18, 42; Ömer Lütfi Barkan, *XV ve XVI inci Asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Ziraî Ekonominin Hukuki ve Mali Esasları*, I, *Kanunlar*, Istanbul, 1943, pp. 163, 166, 211, 303, 315. See also *Qanunnâme-i Âl-i 'Osman*, T. O. E. M. supplement, Istanbul, 1329, p. 26, n. 3. The editors attribute the word to a Hungarian origin, and say, on the basis of an old qānūnnâme of the brokerage of Istanbul and Galata, that a pastav traditionally consisted of fifty *arshin* (cf. *Edebiyyât Fakültesi Mejmû'ası*, III, 1924, p. 248). The *arshin* of cloth was of about 27 inches. The pastav would thus be about 37½ yards or 34.29 metres. My thanks are due to Dr. R. Anhegger for several of these references.
- ²² Here presumably the control-stamp certifying the quality of the cloth; cf. Nedkoff, p. 21.
- ²³ In various forms the word Carisea is common in Italian, French, English and other languages in the 15th and 16th centuries, and is attested in Parma in the 14th century. It originated in England in the form Kersey, possibly

from Kersey in Suffolk, and spread to the continent. The English Kersey was a kind of coarse, narrow cloth, woven from long wool. In Italy Carisea was a cloth made from remnants of wool and later silk, and was made in Venice and elsewhere. See *The Oxford English Dictionary*, s. v. Kersey; Edmond Huguet, *Dictionnaire de la Langue Française au XVI^e Siècle*, Paris, 1932, s.v. *Carlzé*; Carlo Battisti and Giovanni Alessio, *Dizionario Etimologico Italiano*, Florence, 1950, s. v. *Calisea* and *Carlsea*. The *Kazzaziye* (4.53) listed among the cloths imported from Europe in the qānūnnāme of Tripoli of 979/1571 (ed. Ömer Lütfi Barkan, op. cit., p. 211) is certainly a misreading of the same word. David de Rossi, who visited Safed in 1535, speaks of the manufacture there of more than 15,000 *carisee* in one year (A. Ya'ari, *Iggerōth Eres Yisrā'el*, Tel Aviv, 1943, p. 184 = D. Kaufmann, Letter of David de Rossi.... *J. Q. R.*, o. s. IX, 1897, pp. 491 ff). cf. Kena'ni, p. 196 and note 3.

²⁴ For a collection of earlier material on Jewish dyers in Palestine see R. B. Serjeant, *Islamic Textiles*, Ch. XXIII, *Ars Islamica*, XV-XVI, 1951, pp. 70-71.

²⁵ cf. Kena'ni, p. 39.

²⁶ cf. A. N. Pollak, *Feudalism in Egypt, Syria, Palestine and the Lebanon 1250-1900*, London, 1939, pp. 48, 65-7. For a fuller discussion of the *Muqāsama* assessment-system, of which this is a variant, see F. Løkkegaard, *Islamic Taxation in the Classic Period*, Copenhagen, 1950, pp. 108 ff. On the *Muqāsama* in Mamluk Syria see Nuwairi, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, VIII, Cairo, 1931, pp. 258-9.

²⁷ Comparative material on the prices paid by merchants in the commercial towns will be found in western travel literature and trade records. For information on prices in the Mamluk period see E. Strauss, *Prix et Salaires à l'Epoque Mamlouke*, *R. E. I.*, 1949, pp. 13-47.

²⁸ For a collection of material from Arabic sources see H. Sauvage, *Matériaux pour servir à l'Histoire de la*

Numismatique et de la Métrologie Musulmanes, J. A., 8th series, Vol. IV, 1884, pp. 261-269 (on the *qinṭār*) and Vol. VII, 1886, pp. 422-425 (on the *ghirāra*).

²⁹ *Travels of John Sanderson*, ed. Sir W. Foster, Hakluyt Society, 2nd series, Vol. LXVII, London, 1931, pp. 290-1.

³⁰ See Gaudefroye-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'Epoque des Mamelouks*, Paris, 1923, pp. 83 and 202, and Sauvaire, Extraits de l'ouvrage d'el-Qalqashandy, *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences, Belles-Lettres et Arts de Marseille*, 1885-7, pp. 89.

³¹ Ömer Lutfi Barkan, *Kanunlar*, p. 215. A similar result can be reached by combining Qalqashandi's statement that 1 *ghirāra* and 1½ *mudd* = 3 Egyptian *ardabbs* (Gaudefroy-Demombynes, p. 136) with the Turkish evaluation of the *ardabb* as 9 kailas of Istanbul (Barkan, p. 540, without reference to source).

³² Sauvaire gives two different figures, 202 kg. 234.8507 3/7 gr. (Matériaux, 1886, p. 423, n. 2.) and 200 kg. 837 gr. (Extraits de l'ouvrage d'el-Qalqashandy, p. 89, n. 2.). Strauss (Prix et Salaires, p. 55, n. 2.) assesses the *ghirāra* at 205 kg. 954 gr.

³³ Quoted in Sauvaire, Matériaux, 1886, p. 145, note. I am informed that the present weight of a bushel of wheat in England is 61½ lb. (i. e. 100 litres = 76.8 kg.).

³⁴ The qānūnnāme of Safed prefixed to this register (no. 300) was published by Ömer Lutfi Barkan, op. cit., pp. 229-230. A German summary of a qānūnnāme of Safed will be found in J. von Hammer, *Des Osmanischen Reichs Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung*, Vienna, 1815, I, pp. 225-6. Other Palestinian qānūnnāmes will be found in the same volume. Useful comparative material will be found in the Mamluk "*Qānūn al-bilād ash-Shāmīya*", given by Nuwairī (*Nihāyat al-Arab*, VIII, p. 255 ff.). Here as in other conquered provinces the Ottoman qānūnnāme preserves much of the practice of the preceding regime.

³⁵ Barkan, p. 230, para. 7.

³⁶ ibid., paras. 9 and 12.

³⁷ ibid., p. 229, para. 5.

³⁸ In all the Syrian qānūnnāmēs, but in no others that I have seen, a distinction is made between Islamic olives (*zeytün-i İslāmī*) on the one hand, and infidel or Greek olives (*zeytün-i Kāfirī* or *Rūmānī*) on the other. Hammer (loc. cit.) takes these to be olives grown on Islamic or infidel ferdāns of land. These two measures of land are defined in the qānūnnāmē of Damascus (Barkan, p. 220; Hammer, I, p. 220), and probably preserve a distinction dating back to the Arab conquest.

³⁹ cf. Nuwairi, VIII, 258, for a list of Ṣayfī crops in the Mamluk period, and A. Barthélemy, *Dictionnaire Arabe-Français*, Paris, 1935 ff., s. v. *Ṣayfī*, for a list of crops covered by the term in present day Syria. On the distinction between the winter and summer crops in the Muqāsama see F. Løkkegaard, *Islamic Taxation*, pp. 109 and 240.

⁴⁰ That is, the dues paid for the Muḥtasib and the public measurer and weigher. The word *Qabbān* (pronounced *Kapan* in Turkish), is applied both to the public weighing machine and to the building in which it is housed. On the probable derivation of the word from the Latin *campana* see Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes*, s. v. On the market in Kafr Kanna see I. Ben-Zvi, *A Pilgrimage to Palestine by Rabbi Moshe Bassola of Ancona*, Jerusalem, 1938, pp. 50-51.

⁴¹ Cf. Barkan, index, s. v. *Āsiyāb* and *Değirmen*; J. von Hammer, I, p. 203. For a recent study on these taxes see Neşet Çağatay, *Osmalı İmparatorluğunda Reayadan alınan vergi ve resimler*, Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi, V, 1947, pp. 483-511.

⁴² Of 889/1484. See C.I.A. *Syrie-Nord*, p. 80. A qānūnnāmē of Morea of 1129/1716 fixes the tax on silk winders at 50 aspers (Barkan, p. 329).

⁴³ cf. É. Combe, A Note: Qafar-Khafara, *B. S. O. A. S.*, X, 1940, p. 790.

⁴⁴ cf. Bassola, pp. 72-3.

⁴⁵ On Ottoman currency generally see F. von Schrötter, *Wörterbuch der Münzkunde*, Berlin, 1930, s.v. Akçe, Altun, Para, Piaster. For a statement of values at the end of the 16th century see Sanderson, p. 292.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III

¹ On the topography of Damascus see K. Wulzinger and C. Watzinger, *Damascus*, II, Berlin-Leipzig, 1924. There are several references in Jewish sources to the synagogues in the 'Annāba or 'Anbiya quarter and to the suburb of Jawbar. See Bassola, pp. 67-68; B. Lewis, *Damascus just after the Ottoman Conquest*, *B. S. O. S.* X, 1939, p. 183 and notes 3 and 5. Bassola, who visited Damascus in 1521-2, speaks of three synagogues, Sefardic, native and Sicilian, as well as those of 'Annāba and Jawbar.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

¹ Many of the names are unpointed, but I have been able to establish most of them fairly easily from the lists of communities given in the Jewish sources, as quoted by Danon, Rozanes, Galanté, Emmanuel, Benayahu and others. The Turkish transcriptions are not consistent, and appear to be based on the names as spoken and heard in Sálonica: e.g. Lisboa and Lisbona, Polia, Calavresh, Castillan (sometimes heard as Castiyan). See in general I. S. Emmanuel, *Histoire des Israélites de Salonique*, I, Paris, 1936, and S. Rozanes, *Divré Yémê Yisrā'ēl bē-Thōgarmā*, I (first edition, Husyatîn-Sofia, 1905), second edition, Tel-Aviv, 1930, pp. 132 ff. The clear description "Saragossa-Aragon" shows that Rozanes'

suggested emendation of Saragossa to Siracusa (p. 135) is mistaken.

- ² From Florin. A term applied by the Ottomans to European gold pieces, and especially to the Venetian ducat. It was also sometimes used of Ottoman gold pieces, and corresponds to the מָרֵב of the Hebrew sources. On the fluctuations in the rate of the asper to the ducat see above p. 22, and R. Anhegger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Bergbaus im Osmanischen Reich*, II, Istanbul 1944, pp. 432-3. The rate in this defter appears to be 55 aspers to the *filori*.
- ³ "Rāv[-tax] of the Jews" — i. e. the tax generally known as *Rav Aqchesi* (the Rabbi's asper). This was an annual tax paid by the Jewish communities of the Ottoman Empire for the privilege of having a Chief Rabbi appointed and recognised by an Imperial rescript; cf. S. Rozanes, op. cit., I, pp. 22-23; Emmanuel, op. cit., p. 122; A. Galanté, *Histoire des Juifs d'Istanbul*, Istanbul, 1941-2, I, pp. 5 and 107 ff., II, p. 15, *Recueil de Nouveaux Documents inédits concernant l'Histoire des Juifs de Turquie*, Istanbul, 1949, pp. 74 ff. For a 16th century Jewish account of this and other taxes paid by the Jews in Turkey see the Responsa of R. Samuel de Medina, *Hoshen Mishpat*, no. 364.
- ⁴ *Sikke-i hasene* — a technical term, corresponding to the *buon moneta* of the Italian merchants, for money in good gold coin, as opposed to the asper and other moneys of account.
- ⁵ Possibly an error for 60,000, which however would give a rate of 60 aspers to the *filori* — very much lower than the current rate at the date of compilation of this register.
- ⁶ On the Ottoman bride-tax see J. von Hammer, *Des Osmanischen Reichs Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung*, Vienna, 1815, I, p. 202, and Emmanuel, p. 132. Infidels (*Kefere*) means Christians. The formula *yahūdī*

ve kefere for Jews and Christians is common in Turkish official documents in this period.

⁷ Kharāj here means Jizye ; cf. note 5 to chapter II. According to the Jewish sources the community paid a lump sum in lieu of Kharāj, and itself arranged the assessments on an income basis; cf. Emmanuel, pp. 124-5.

NOTES TO CHAPTER V

- ¹ My thanks are due to Dr. Lutfi Gücer for drawing my attention to these documents.
- ² Galanté, in *Histoire des Juifs d'Istanbul*, I, p. 11, speaks of an order of Selīm II inviting five hundred Jews to go to Cyprus, to live and work there. He quotes no source for this statement, which may possibly be connected with the documents given here. The first of them is however dated nearly two years after the death of Selīm.
- ³ See for example Jacob Leveen, An Eye-witness Account of the Expedition of the Florentines against Chios in 1599, *B. S. O. A. S.*, XII, 1948, pp. 542-554. "Now there was in the harbour [of Chios] a ship full of Jews who had come from Safed..." (p. 553).
- ⁴ *Mühimme*, Vol. 28, p. 39. Order to the Bey of Rhodes to give him the necessary assistance.
- ⁵ *Mêmê Yisrâ'el*, Venice, 1599-1600, fol. 159 A. Quoted by M. Benayahu, in his article (in Hebrew) on the first century of Spanish Jewish settlement in Turkey (*Sinai*, Jerusalem, Vol. 28, 1951, p. 16, note 74).
- ⁶ The first letter of this word is incomplete in the text.
- ⁷ The use of *ish olmaqdan* in this construction is common in the *Aḥkām*.
- ⁸ In Chancery usage ج = Jumādā I, ح = Jumādā II.
- ⁹ نَصْرَفٌ مُنْصُورٌ crossed out and written above it.
- ¹⁰ تَعْيِنٌ. This spelling is common in Turkish documents.
- ¹¹ The construction of this passage is obscure. That Sulei-

mān is the bearer of the order and is appointed Commissioner is clear from the following document.

¹² From here, until the words "send it to us", the writer appears to be addressing Suleimān Cha'ush. His instructions are presumably incorporated in the orders to the Qādis, for their information.

¹³ See note 9 above.

PLATES.

1—6 from the *mufaṣṣal* of Safed, of 963/1555-6, showing the enumeration of the Jewish quarters, with their inhabitants.

- 1) End of Muslim quarters—beginning of Jewish quarters—*mahalle* of Portugal.
- 2) Remainder of Portugal — Cordova.
- 3) Castile.
- 4) Remainder of Castile — Musta'riba — Maghrabis.
- 5) Remainder of Maghrabis — Aragon with Catalan — Hungary — Apulia — Calabria.
- 6) Remainder of Calabria — Seville — Italian — German — Totals for Muslims and Jews — note on Jewish taxes (v. *supra* p. 7).
- 7) Two pages from the same *mufaṣṣal*, showing the record of the village of Jūlis.

right side:

Village of Jūlis, dependent on the above-mentioned

(i. e. Acre) قرية جولس تابع [زبور] [names]

[List of names of villagers]

left side:

[remainder of list]—83 households, 19 bachelors ١٩٣ عباده
community of Jews of the said village جماعت يهود بدان قرية [زبور]
[list of names] — 9 households ٩ خانه [names]
revenues of the said village— حصل قرية من زبور قسم من الربيع
qasm of a quarter

Wheat	Barley etc.	شعير وغیره	منطه
15 ghirāras	10 ghirāras	غراره ١٥	
1,950	700	٧٠٠	١٩٥٠
Tax on olive trees & other trees	Money of the Sayfi	مال	خارج
4,000	1,000	١٠٠٠	اشجار زيتون و اشجار سازه صبن ٤٠٠

Tax on goats & hives	Tax on presses	Bride tax & Bād-i Havā	رسم عروس و بادهوا	رسم
800	36	800	٨٠٠	٣٦
	Total		يكون	
	9,286		٩٢٨٦	

- 8) A page of the Mühimme defteri, Vol. 28. The third letter, written diagonally, is document I above (*supra* p. 31).
 9) A page of the Mühimme defteri, Vol. 31, containing documents II and III above (*supra* p. 32).



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PLATE II.

PLATE III.

PLATE IV.

لَهُمْ مِنْ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ
مَا يَرَوْنَ وَمَا لَا
يَرَوْنَ إِنَّ اللَّهَ
عَلَىٰ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ
عَلِيمٌ

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سیاه رنگ از کتاب خود

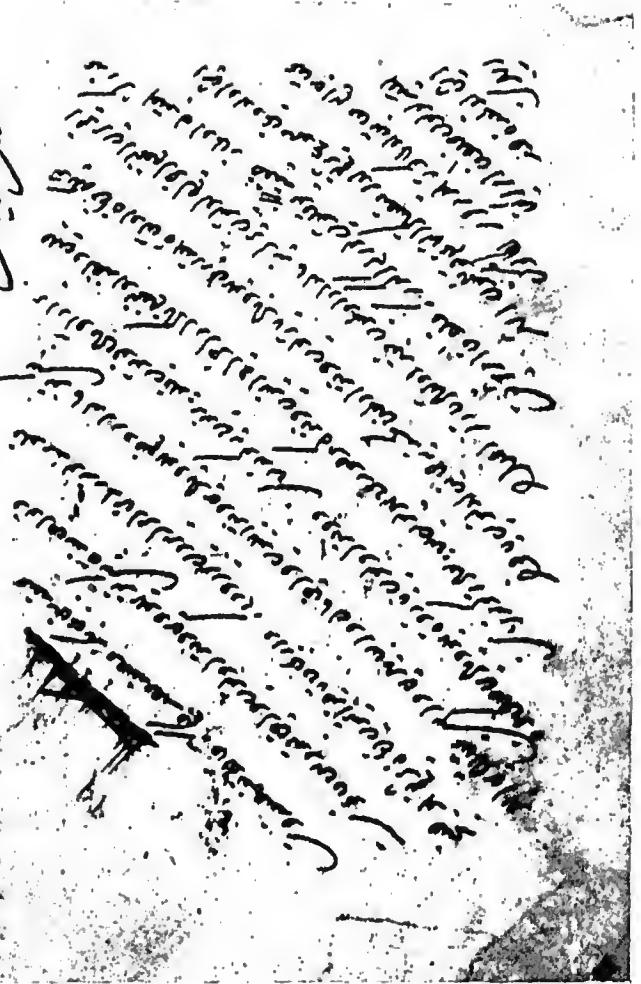
بیت دویزد و بیم خانه که کنندگان از این طبقه نداشته باشند و میتوانند
که علیه این داد و داده و مالکه و ایامه و دیمه و دیمه و دیمه و دیمه و دیمه و دیمه
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نیفست و دریز نارخوا را که در آن قرار داشته باشد و نمک خوار و دنگار و دنگار و دنگار و دنگار

卷之三

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لهم إنا نسألك دعائكم ونستغركم بدعائكم كي لا يحيط بهم شر

11



Page 1

سندھ میں سطحی ناگاری، کھجور والوں کے ترکیب میں سندھیہ کے بھیاں باپوں درود میں پڑھتے ہیں
سندھیہ کا جو دینہ ترکیب سانچیں نہیں، ترکیب کا کاریہ نہیں، میں اپنی خصوصی و مدنیت کا ذکر کرے
مادر تک دلہ دعویٰ دادہ سنبھلے گا، اسی دعویٰ میں اپنی خصوصی و مدنیت کا ذکر کرے
رہوں دعویٰ تھے، مالک سکھیا بھر لیم بدر لے ڈالوں نے سانچے اپنے رات تھن
اوڑ سے میخا دل دل تکیلے روند بیکھڑا، ترکیب اسی کھجور کا تھا
دکھ بیکھردے، نشتر، اسلا، بدر، وغیرہ اپنے ادا فہر، نسبت دشمنوں، منور، کھننا
لوئیں تھوڑے، درسے لعلہ راقی، کھنڈ رکھ دیا مولانا میں لوزیں نعمتیں لے کر میں
کھنڈ کھو لے زار نہیں، وغیرا سوکھنی کی پریشانی میں عصہ میں رہ، مدد رہیا نہ دو لاپاں
لئنہاں نہیں، نہیں لئنہاں نہیں، نہیں لئنہاں نہیں، نہیں لئنہاں نہیں، نہیں
تکسک کے کرنے کے کمی میں دار میں ایسا نہیں، نہیں تکسک کے کمی میں

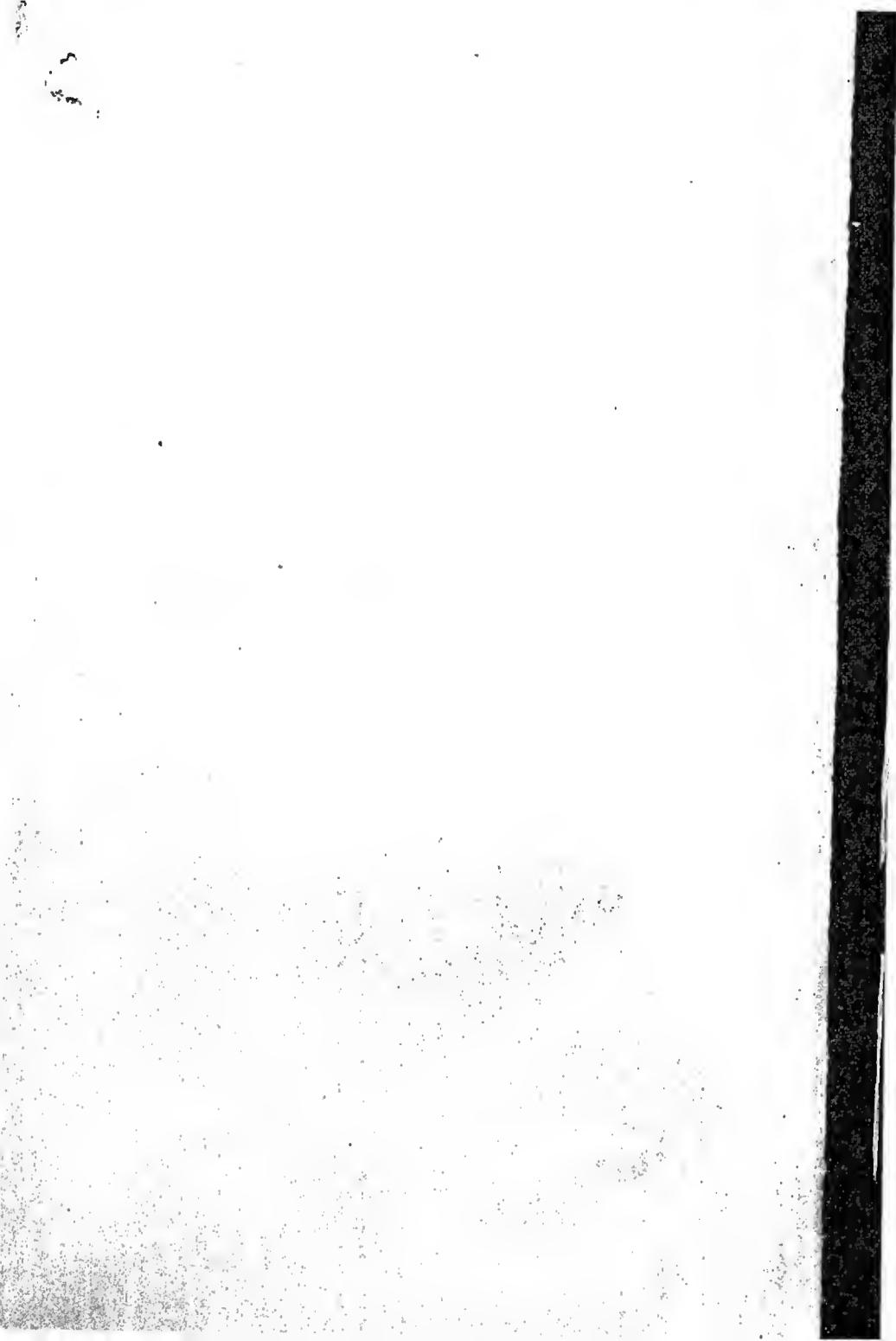


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